/102 cont./

342 round, beehive-like. The larger one was 19 paces in diameter, covered high up on the outside with acuri straw, whereas the framework in the interior exhibited a circle of supporting posts one and a third meters high, upon which the basket of this structure, which actually consisted merely of a roof, rose with many horizontal bamboo rings. At the top was an air vent; a number of the /103/ framework poles crossing one another here extended to the outside. The entrance, a hole one and a half meters high, was surrounded by pepper plants. In any case, the interior space was far larger and finer than in the new houses.

433 241 The people led an idyllic existence; they carried on agri-

142 291 302 622

Captain Reginaldo and wife.

433 241 culture and stock-raising, went hunting, planted mandioca /manioc/, beans, maize, rice, and some tobacco and sugar cane. 197 304 They were civilized, despite the pierced ear lobes and nasal septa. Their average height was 1.65 meters; they were striking because 142 141 of their broad and powerful chests. Their skin was yellowish, clay-colored, and rather light, the hair of most of them was black and slightly curly or wavy. In general they had beautiful, open 151 eyes. Reginaldo's excellent vision was demonstrated on one occasion in a way that amazed us all. We noticed far in the distance a /illustration appears here/ figure in the grass; with an excellent field-glass I took it to be Tupy riding up; the entire company, among them Daniel, who was seldom mistaken, agreed with me;

/119/

000 Clauss, Castro, and the majority stayed at the fazenda. The owner, for his part, rode to a compadre /Gavatter in the Ger.; in the original source, p. 191 (translated p. 72) "compadre" is translated as the Ger. Gevatter; the latter term is given in the glossary of Brazilian expressions, p. 171 / eight legoas away, who was supposed to sell farinha. Thus everyone was busy.

133 Wilhelm and I arrived at twilight after a four-hour march over a series of hilly ranges, having crossed a few small tributaries of the Paranatinga. We could have sworn that we were in the Bergischen /a hilly countryside near the Rhine/ or Westphalia -- farm houses in front of the bush, the quemada like potato fields; -- in the gathering darkness we also began to indulge in fancies: on a barren hill in the distance we clearly saw a lunatic asylum in the latest pavilion style.

[622] [142] [291] [301] [302] [241]

Captain Caetano "Mêmo."

231 The dreadful dogs that hastened toward us, barking, were ill-suited to bringing us back to a clear and sober conception of reality. These curs, small, skeletal specimens, with pointed snouts, light whitish-yellow fur, and glassy, watery eyes, looked as though they scratched up the dead out of the graves in the cemetery at night.

122, 485 Received by old Captain Caetano and a few young chaps, we were put up in the guest house. The term is synonymous with guest room or guest stall. The only furniture a trough-like, unfinished bark canoe on a stand in the corner, which we were permitted to use as a dresser and table.

/124 cont./

123 283 241 [372] [251] and showed me how the raw cotton, merely cleaned of seeds, is twisted into thread with the spindle. The cotton plants stand between the huts everywhere; beside them grows mamona /castor oil plant/, whose oil serves us for wretched illumination in the evening, and peppers. Mats are spread out on racks in order to dry the mandioca farina.

The roça," the cultivated field, lies some distance away. The Bakaïrí plant mandioca, beans, rice, sweet potatoes, sugar, and deliver to the Fazenda Corrego fundo. Their rapadura was 272 excellent; the melada, a honey-sweet syrup, moved us to exclamations of admiration. The sugar cane is pressed between 249 two cylinders in the simplest way. (Cf. the vignette at the be-

342

Old-style hut.

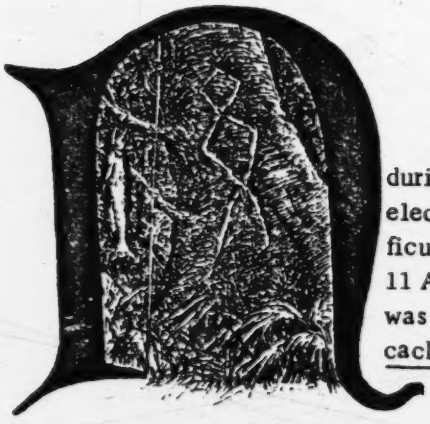
[249] ginning of this chapter /see p. 2/).

We found Caetano's hut divided into three rooms: Caetano received us in the high, airy center room and shut the door, behind which little Luisa was doing housework. Felipe and Carlotta 354 Pareci lived in the corner room opposite. Three canga blocks 482 formed the hearth. Plaited back-baskets, which are carried by a forehead band and in which the women are said to carry up to six 412 arrobas. Graters to grate the mandioca: hard little spikes from 824 the rib of the buriti leaf are neatly set into the middle part of a narrow piece of wood almost a meter long.

1: Steinen--34 D E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Eleventh Chapter

The Wild Bakaïrí. The Kustenaú /Custenau/.



122
133

After all kinds of troubles during the morning, we traveled for a stretch without difficulties on the afternoon of 11 August, and again there was heard the rumble of the cachoeira /cataract; see the glossary, p. 170 /, which by this time had become positively gruesome for us all. To our joyous amazement we found an Indian canoe on the left shore. Below a beautiful waterfall poured forth on two ledges; poles and steps were set in it; it foamed and churned in a basin, only to form another level farther below.

[487]

122 For the moment, however, we have no eye for the salto; where are the Indians? We all gather, leave behind three men to guard the canoes, and push forward, gun in hand. -- The ground is strewn with jatobá /see the glossary, p. 171 / fruits; a well-trod path leads inland. We pass by a tree, into the bark of which the outlines, one-half life-sized, of a man above and a woman below have been crudely carved.

[137]
[487]
[532]

241 Silently our column marches through the forest -- the narrow path stops -- a clearing. There is thick smoke and steam rising from the tree stumps that stand there like broken pillars, in between a tangle of trunks and boughs on the ground, everything in

/157 cont./

241 the process of being charred. The pillar of smoke that had drawn our attention for several days is explained: the forest was 122 being cleared in order to lay out a planting. Eagerly scouting, we climb up, and again we are wandering along the forest path.

/158/ "Beijũ," somebody cries in a suppressed voice and [262] triumphantly points to a few crumbs, which give us the prospect of new provisions; "they have beijús," each one murmurs to the man behind him.

[411] There -- a feather-decorated arrow leans against a tree 824 -- the tube of ubá, the wood from which the Imperador /emperor/ [113] of the legend created the Bakaïrí. We become more serious, and even the Negroes, who, when they are afraid, like to try to give themselves courage by chattering march on silently. Now and then small fires, alive or burned out. We have already been [137] walking three-quarters of an hour. But see there, a new clearing -- a charming grove of nut-bearing bacayuva palms -- a few kernels of maize on the ground, again a bit of forest and: "Casas -- houses," the first man cries.

361 Three houses of the form of a beehive become visible; in 342 the first hut, which blocks our path, the low door stands open; in the dark we make out a few heads. A completely naked 609 Indian steps out, young, well built, closes the door, and comes [291] toward us, in his hand a long arrow shaft without a point, which he holds horizontally in front of him.

I instruct Antonio to call out a greeting to him in Bakaïrí. "Kɣulino," cries Antonio almost breathless, and -- hail to the antiguos -- the Indian answers in Bakaïrí. Eagerly he steps up to Antonio, leans against him, and both embrace as they walk on -- both talking at the same time, both trembling all over with fear and excitement.

[302] A joyful feeling of release overcame us all, and when Manoel, discovering that our dear savage wears a nicely shaved tonsure, now finally recovers his speech and cries out, "Oh, why that's a priest, the compadre is a parson," general laughter breaks out, and everybody talks at once.

/168 cont./

574 other, the professor, naked, but, along with bow and arrow, one of our mirrors in his hand. We were undoubtedly well recommended.

532 Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, /169/ probably the remains from a festival. They were made of leaves and straw, mostly quadrupeds with long, thin bodies, consisting of practically nothing but spinal column and long legs; the tallest ones reached to our hips. Something that was evidently supposed to be a monkey was climbing up a pole. A human figure was incised in a tree, with roguish use of a depression present in the bark. Such is the beginning of art in the primeval forest.

361 After we had passed a roça and low shrub planting, we saw [241] four huts, two large ones and two small ones, lying correspondingly opposite each other. The nobility was assembled on the 574 [576] plaza; a friendly "am(b)á" (that is you) with raised hand welcomed each one. Then, one after the other, we were grasped [345] at the wrists by our hosts, mostly by two at the same time, and led before the festival hut, where beam and stool were ready. Here we sat is long rows with our guns, and immediately [123] the serving of mingau began. Then we did our tricks, cut nails, let them look through the opera glasses, lighted a match with fire steel, etc. The professor beamed; he was reaping honor with us.

[301] A sturdy young man, a diadem of stiff jaguar skin over his [624] forehead, seemed to be acting as herald. He poured busily, screamed louder than the others, and grasped everything most quickly. I had the feeling that we were traveling circus artists and were being informally received and treated in a club. One 302 of the younger sportsmen had had his body painted with black 531 squares, which were joined at the edges with short lines. The drawing on the upper thigh of another -- a black wavy line and in the depressions of it black dots -- definitely resembled the skin marking of a fish, the pintado.

/56 cont./

114 Bakaïrí against such views about their characteristics as are
157 found, typically expressed, in the following sentences by Oscar Peschel (Abhandlungen zur Erde- und Völkerkunde /Essays on Geography and Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1877, Vol. I, p. 421): "In no other continent on earth did one hear less happy laughter before 1492 than in America. The so-called red man remains the same in all climates, /57/ everywhere he is gloomy, silent, withdrawn, and intent on a certain dignified bearing."

157 These assertions are in no way applicable to the Bakaïrí; they were gay, talkative, and trustful, as I observed them in their association with one another and as they acted toward me alone. I shall not fail to give examples of this. In this village I laughed and heard laughter almost as often as under the coconut palms of Samoa and Tonga. It is true, their temperament is less vivacious and their entire view of life less sunny than among the children of the South Seas, the girls do not dance in the moonlight and the men do not sing on canoe trips; shyness and mistrust are more easily aroused, but all this is a long way from the sadness and reserve which, like the black horsehair and the Mongolian eyes, are summarily attributed to the Indian on the basis of appearances, as though there were but a single family between the Bering Strait and the Strait of Magellan.

361 The "village" was very small; it consisted of two large
342 round houses, in each of which several families lives, and a
592 small, empty, somewhat dilapidated oblong house, in which I
122 took up my residence. Between the houses stretched the "taséra,"
417 an open place where a few racks stood for drying the white
251 mandioca flour spread out on mats, where in the center lay a
241 long, slender log for sitting, and, toward the edge, there grew a few stalks of cotton, Orleans bushes (Bixa orellana), and
245 Ricinus plants. Numerous fruit trees were planted all around, bakayuva palms (Acrocomia), mangaba /fruit of the mangabeira/ (Hancornia speciosa), fruta de lobo (Solanum lycocarpum), and a
487 sort of avenue of stately pikí trees (Caryocar butyrosum). Toward
361 the east a path led to the "harbor" across the nearby brook, toward
824

/88 cont./

361 The village could be reached in half an hour or an hour from
311 the river, depending on whether one landed sooner or later. It was surrounded by cultivated land to an extent that aroused our
●241 greatest astonishment. On the three different paths that we followed, we came through long stretches where the forest had been cut down with the stone ax. In March and April the trees are felled and in September and October the wood which has dried in the meantime is burned. We examined with admiration a number of thick trunks, the cross-sections of which were covered with the dull blow-marks of the stone axes, and regretted that we could not saw off such a marked surface and take it along. I silently begged forgiveness of the Indians at whom I had often laughed when they were swinging themselves in their hammocks at home, as though their lives were one long Sunday.

361 /89/ In Iguéti there were three large family-houses and a
345 very respectable flute-house in which many dance costumes made
535 of palm straw were hanging. On the village plaza a cage rose
343 up higher than a house, which consisted of long poles set together
231 in the form of a pointed cone; in it sat a mighty Harpia destructor, although the village is called igu-eti = sparrow-hawk village.

231 The once heraldic bird had probably long since departed. The beautiful eagle was named after its favorite food, mégo-zóto, lord
412 of the monkeys. Beside the chief's house lay a large whetstone
[171] for the stone axes; it gave me much pleasure because it showed the same grooves that we had observed in the sambaquis of Sta. Catharina.

621 The community numbered some 40 persons. They spoke of
162 three chiefs, but we met in this capacity only the good-natured,
622 very broad-shouldered Aramöke, who was characterized by a waddling walk. He had a sly expression and with his clumsy body was very polite, for, striding ahead of me in the forest, he broke off the branches, which might have snapped back in my face, more graciously than he probably would have for a woman. A large knife and a red scarf made him the happiest of mortals.
574 He showed us great hospitality. Fresh golden beijûs were con-
437 stantly brought forth, a row of calabashes filled with pogu were

/131 cont./

000 would take exaggerated care of them by removing them on occasions when even for children it would not be necessary.

846 In the first Bakaïrí village the population had increased by one young soul. Pauhaga had become a father and was observing the lying-in period along with his wife. I shall come back to the scene, which seemed comical to us, in discussing

241 262 the couvade. The maize was a succulent green; we were offered excellent, somewhat dry maize

249 417 beijús. My tobacco planting on village plaza had shot up tre-

[179] [291] mendously and was fenced in all around by a palisade.

→ But what did our astonished

177 342 eyes catch sight of behind Paleko's house? A new construction, already far advanced, of a strange kind. Or rather, one of very familiar appearance. The Bakaïrí had taken our rancho at Independencia as a model and, instead of their beehive, had started a house with a triangular gable /132/ and a two-sided roof. We had believed we were seeing something genuine in a remote corner, and already it was disappearing. "The first glimpse of light," says Bastian, "will also be the last."

Fig. 8.
Indians disguised as Europeans.

123 [415] Tumayaua, who was going along to Independencia, nevertheless carried out the official farewell in Maigéri. He handed me two large gourd bowls. A little while after that he came to fetch me, seized me vehemently by the arm, and, shouting loudly all around, led me from the hut to the beam in the middle of the plaza and, with a sort of enthusiasm, pushed me down on to the seat. Soon four Karaiben were sitting there in a row, side by side.

/201 cont./

181 only that all creatures behaved essentially as he did, that they
825 had their family life, communicated with one another by means of sounds, had dwellings, sometimes fought with one another, and nourished themselves from hunting booty or from fruits; in short, he felt as though he were primus inter pares, not above them; he knew nothing about all those good things to the effect that there is a difference whether one draws conclusions in situational images or in concepts, and whether one acts purposefully according to associations which are inherited complete within the species, or according to tradition which is handed down by the parents by means of language. His myths and legends, which [793] to us seem like pure fairy tales and animal fables and which he takes just as seriously as we do the sacred books with their doctrine, in which he lets human beings and animals mingle, would necessarily be only playful jests if he regarded himself as created out of a different substance than other creatures are. We can understand these human beings only if we regard them as the product of a hunting culture. They gathered the main body of their experiences from animals, and with these experiences primarily, since it is only through the old that one is capable of understanding the new, they explained nature, fashioned their world view. [532] Accordingly, their artistic motifs, as we shall see, are borrowed, with amazing one-sidedness, from the animal kingdom; indeed, their entire, surprisingly rich art is rooted in the hunting life and did not flower until a more peaceful existence provided protection for the buds. From the outset I cannot refer often enough to these conditions, since otherwise we should not properly evaluate the material culture of the natives and should not understand their mental culture at all.

*171 On the other hand, it is a fact that the products of agricul-
174 ture -- except in the case of the Trumaí -- have been in the
• 241 possession of our Indians since time immemorial. A comparison of the languages furnishes irrefutable proof. It teaches us first of all that the tribes of the Schingú belong to different language families. It teaches us furthermore that in the case of each one the branching off from the basic people concerned took place

B /201 cont,/
*171 in remote epochs, /202/ for the phonetic softening processes
174 and the disappearance of the initial root-sounds, which are
241 present everywhere in the individual dialects, show a development in the same direction, but in different gradations everywhere with respect to degree and limits, show only equivalence, not conformity, and therefore could have started only after the separation from the basic people. Nevertheless, even the basic peoples have names for the most important useful plants; they are entirely different from one basic people to another, but for the individual basic stock they are common among a greater or lesser number of branches. For the Karaiben /Carib/ I believe I have proved these statements in my Bakaïrí grammar, I can likewise maintain them for the Tupí after more recent studies; for the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/, where the material is inadequate and difficult, I reserve all judgment and merely point out that, on the basis of historical and ethnological data, we must conclude that the Nu-Aruak undoubtedly have an older culture than the Karaiben and certainly the Gēs, and probably also an older
T [192] one than the Tupí. The Trumaí borrowed their names for the most important useful plants in part from the Nu-Aruak, in part from the Tupí.

B [181] Thus, we have a contradiction with respect to the common conception: ancient agriculture along with the world view of
B [773] hunters. The Bakaïrí said to me: "Our grandfathers did not
[261] know anything about maize and mandioca, instead they ate earth" -- which the present-day Indians only nibble. In the bagadú legend they say that mandioca was first given as a gift
BO [241] to the campo residents. In the Mato Grosso different stages of de-
[153] velopment are found side by side: in the case of the Bororó we shall become acquainted with a mighty tribe for whom the cultivation of food plants was an incomprehensible beginning, who, without need, most speedily pulled out and consumed the
T [241] mandioca roots planted for them, before the roots were scarcely
[179] more than thin young shoots -- we recognize from the language and also hear from the tradition that the Trumaí were taught agriculture only recently by their neighbors, and we find among them excellently tended, extensive plantings--

/202 cont./

*17 17 24 [181] excellently tended, extensive plantings -- finally, we see the rest of the Schingú Indians dependent on the produce of the fields, but in their entire thinking and feeling filled with delight in the original hunters' calling.

But, according to the schema, the process could not have taken place so discontinuously in steps and more or less intermittently. In order to understand this we must approach still [325] another problem. The Schingú tribes had no metal. It is said that they lived in the "Stone Age."

Unfortunately, the study of the pre-metallic period has quite predominantly been built on the mute evidence of excavations. Thus, first of all, there was permitted to arise such a confusion of concepts that "Stone Age" and "prehistory" are commonly regarded as identical terms, although the peoples who have written their own history did so only after they had long had metals, and although, side by side with them and at the same time, there lived metal-less peoples, "prehistorical" with historical peoples. Then, however, /203/ according to our prehistoric finds, one could distinguish an older period, in which stone implements were made by striking and splintering the stones, and a more recent period, in which they were produced by grinding, and, not content to limit this process -- I am not saying this process of development -- to the areas where it was observed, but, generalizing the experiences, it was concluded that man necessarily, in order to obtain his tools, began everywhere by breaking up stones and then progressed to grinding them. Whereas prehistory ought to pronounce the final word and furnish the definitions for the explanation of cultural beginnings only where observation among primitive peoples reaches its limits, nevertheless today the reports from Alaska or from a South Sea island are predominantly regarded as valuable material for the prehistorian who delightedly sees his perspicacious interpretations confirmed by reality, and when, on the other hand, the traveling /Fig. 20 appears here/ researcher comes to a place where people are unfamiliar with metal, he cries out that they are living in the "Stone Age" -- a folly which became clear to me because I myself frequently committed it. If, as is

/209 cont./

*171 433 511 229 hurdles in the river, planted the stream with fences and barriers, and closed off arms of lagoons in order to confine the fish; they worked hard to clear large stretches of forest; they built themselves splendid houses, piled up considerable supplies in them, filled them with a great variety of things from an industrious craftman's skill, arrayed themselves with gay body ornaments, and decorated all their implements with graceful design. In *171 511 view of the fact that the people of Cuyabá have showered me with angry newspaper articles to the effect that I have said the savages of the Schingú had neater and better homes than many people of the Mato Grosso, I should like, without comparing reasons, to set their minds at rest by adding that even in old Europe there are plenty of villages in the mountains and along the coast where people lead a more miserable life than on the Kulisehu.

*171 ●241 I shall list the cultivated useful plants which we observed among the Indians. They are arranged, under A, as those that were common in the northern part of South America before the Europeans appeared, and, under B, as those that grew wild in the immediate environment:

A.

Maize	Zea mays.	Cotton	Gossypium.
Mandioca	Manihot utilissima.	Cuyeté	Crescentia cuyeté
Batatas	Convolvus batatas.	Bottle gourd	Cucurbita lagenaria.
Cará	Dioscorea.	Edible gourd	Cucurbita.
Peanut	Arachis hypogaea.	Mamona	Ricinus.
Bean	Phaseolus.	Urucú shrub	Bixa orellana.
Pepper	Capsicum.	Tobacco	Nicotiana tabacum.

B.

Bakayuva palm	Acrocomia.	Genipapo	Genipa.
Pikí	Caryocar butyrosum.	Arrow reed, ubá	Ginerium parviflorum.
Mangaba	Hancornia speciosa.	Spear grass	Scleria.
Fruta de lobo	Solanum lycocarpum.	Pita bast-plant	Fourcroya? Agave?

/209 cont./

#17 ● 24 245 Category B could probably be considerably enlarged. It depended on the need. The fruit trees under this were planted with great care. I have mentioned that in the first Bakaïrí village there was a sort of avenue of pikí trees; the Nahuquá cultivated this species with great enthusiasm. The mangabas were popular and thrive especially well among the Bakaïrí, among the Kamayurá, and in particular, as was reported to me, among the Waurá, so that the Trumaí word "waurarú" seems to mean simply the Waurá fruit. The fruta de lobo was less frequently found near the village. Then, however, plants which they needed in any way for their implements and weapons were set out as required, if they did not occur in the vicinity of the village. Thus they transplanted near the village the spear grass growing in swampy soil, with which they shaved themselves, the bast plants that /210/ furnished them thread, occasionally perhaps also the sapé grass with which the houses were covered. Most interesting, however, it seems to me, is the assurance that they planted the ubá arrow reed in larger quantities on the Batovy, so as not to have to fetch it from distant places.

#17 249 [302] [324] [248]

Besides casual inclinations and knowledge of management, the nature of the soil apparently played an important role. Tobacco grew excellently among the Suyá and the Auetó and was commonly smoked by the men, except in the first Bakaïrí village on the Batovy.* It plays an important part in medical

[296] ooo

114 296 [113]

* This circumstance may have occasioned H. v. Ihering to say: "v. d. Steinen missed tobacco among the Bakaïrí of the Upper Schingú just as completely as bananas or metals" [Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie, 1893, p. 195]. I describe, cf. Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 173 /see I: Steinen, this file, p. 55/, for Village III of the Batovy-Bakaïrí, the real part played by smoking, as the discoverers of the

/210 cont./

114 296 [199] Antilles found it. On the other hand, I share the opinion of v. Ihering, which I often expressed in lectures before I read his article, that the pipe in Brazil is of modern origin. Like the fishhook.

It plays an important part in medical

*171 296 753 193 treatment and is regarded as a very ancient acquisition of the culture heroes, who, as legend indicates, received it from the north. The drinking bowls and calabashes, especially the Cucurbita lagenaria, represented a major product for the

*171 249 [248] [302] Nahuquá, a somewhat lesser one for the Bakaïrí. The Mehinakú and the Bakaïrí had the best cotton. The orlean bush was valued above all by the Bakaïrí, the Mehinakú neglected it completely because watering it made too much work; the surprising circumstance upon my arrival in the village, namely, that no red-painted, but many black-painted figures were walking about, finds a very natural explanation.

*171 ●241 Maize, represented among the Suyá by a species characterized by smallness of ears and a golden color of the kernels, and mandioca were found everywhere, but the latter was planted in decidedly greater amounts among the Mehinakú. They were the richest farmers of the upper Schingú, their word for mandioca was also adopted by the Trumaí. Of tuber plants, besides mandioca, we saw yams of two kinds and batatas, which we first found in quantities among the Mehinakú. Our men designated beans as "feijão de vara," pole beans, or as "feijão de roça," plantation beans. Of edible gourds, abóbora /Abobra/, we saw only the seeds which the Suya brought us in 1884 for eating, so we understood. The mandubi peanut occurred in a small species. There were definitely no guavas or bananas on the Schingú.

*171 194 241 In my report about the first journey I pointed out the absence of bananas and especially stressed that for the ~~question as to~~ whether or not the banana was introduced in America only after the arrival of the Europeans this must be all the more decisive since the different Schingú tribes are of different origin and yet not a single one brought along the banana from the previous

a [i.e., the Tobacco --Analyst]

/210 cont./

*171 174 ● 241 place of habitation. After the experiences of the second expedition I can only find my opinion confirmed. This time we also met true Tupí who did not have bananas. Among the Kamayurá I sought in vain for the /211/ word "pakóba," which the lingoa geral has for banana; they were unfamiliar with it. I gladly withdraw the suggestion that this word might be derived from the Portuguese; I no longer set any store by arbitrary etymology. today, more than at that time, however, I must lay much greater stress on the fact that among the individual tribes the names for banana do not conform to the linguistic derivation, but to fortuitous, local distribution. This is without precedent for the other useful plants. What is more, none of the first [824] discoverers mentions the banana, and the Aruak of the coast and the Island Karaiben reproduce the Spanish word "platano" so unmistakably in their "pátrane" and "balatanna" that there is absolutely no doubt about the agreement. finally, if we fully appreciate the fact that in a lost corner we find representatives of all the large linguistic families with the most excellent names for all the cultivated plants, but without banana, that a splinter group of one of these tribes, and one associating with Europeans, the docile Bakairí, do have the banana and in their language, otherwise kept absolutely pure, simply call it "banana" (just like the Paressí, by the way), I believe that this proof is as forceful as negative proof can ever be. Humboldt and Martius let themselves [114] be persuaded by the fact that they found the banana everywhere among the Indians, but this basis for their view has now become untenable, and the experiences of linguistics, as well as the actual absence of the banana in the entire region of the upper Schingú, undoubtedly justify the opinion of the botanist, Alphonse de Candolle, that the banana was introduced into South America, though probably very soon after the appearance of Europeans.

*171 174 241 824 It is worthwhile, for a better evaluation of the linguistic methods of proof, to give an example. Let us consider the words for "pepper" among I, the Nu-Aruak, II, the Karaiben, and III, the Tupí.

2: Steinen--212 E D-S (1894, 1882-1888) 1894 SPT Bacairi SPT

/211 cont./

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I. On the Schingú, among the Bu-Aruak, pepper is called ši, among the Maipure on the Orinoco ai, among the Moxos /Mojo/ in Bolivia ancheti, among the Aruak haatschi, among the women of the Island Karaiben šti, for the Taino of the island of Haiti Oviedo gives axi, aji.

II. On the Schingú, among the Karaiben Bakairí, pepper is called pino (with a nasal i), among the Nahuquá vôme, bômi, among the Island Karaiben pomi, pomui, among the Karaiben Orinoco tribes in Venezuela pomêi, pomuey, in the Galibí generally widespread in Guiana pomi. Among the Palmella, a Karaiben tribe on the Madeira, apômo.

III. From Tupí the Kamayurá on the Schingú have the word školing, the Omagua on the upper Amazon ekei, the Guaraní in Paraguay kiy, the lingoa geral has kyiá, kyinha, etc.

These phonetic equivalents, which are absolutely certain within the tribal groups and which do not show the slightest compatibility from tribal group to tribal group, /212/ extend over more than half of South America and turn up in records that go back from 1867 to the middle of the sixteenth century. They teach us irrefutably that pepper was known since immemorial "prehistoric" times in each of the three tribal groups, whose remotest family members have preserved its equivalent on their wanderings, and none of them obtained it from any of the others. The situation with regard to the banana words cannot be reconciled with this. These congruities surprise us simply because we are caught up in the delusion, not only that the South American peoples represent a linguistic chaos, but also that these "hordes" to whom we were the first to bring metals are largely crude hunting peoples tossed hither and yon by unknown destinies, like rubble in rapids, somehow cemented together here and broken up in pieces there. In the clumsy masses which in our eyes make up the "Stone Age," however, we shall have to become accustomed to distinguishing a multitude of regular, neatly deposited cultural layers.

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I shall sum up. Ancient agriculture is most compatible with the type of hunting practiced here. The Indians were primarily fishermen. The yield in their area on the upper course of a river was not sufficient for pure ichthyophagy; on the other hand, it was not small during the months when the fish traveled upstream in the rising water and were found in all the canals and lagoons in great numbers, or when, as the water receded, the opportunity for a catch in the artificially barricaded parts of the river branches became considerably greater. Fishing and hunting, furthermore, furnished the indispensable tools. There were no domestic animals in our sense; dogs were unfamiliar to the native. He took pleasure in the colored birds, whose feathers he sometimes pulled out, especially in the talking parrots and cawing aracas. He let those that he happened to catch young walk around in the village, woodpecker or hoatzin or curassow, and kept in huge pole-cages, for the edification of the community, the spitting eagle, Harpyia destructor, or some other predatory bird. He had lizards hanging by their tails from the hammock, so that they would clean up a bit among the annoying crickets -- he had not succeeded any further in the utilization of animals, and though wild plants were established near the village to be used as desired, the rearing of edible animals was not considered. /219/ Indeed, the attitude that the Indian took toward the animal kingdom made him feel a definite repugnance about ultimately consuming animals that he had raised, just as we do not eat dogs.

The relative sedentariness connected with the life of the fisherman could not become permanent until the women learned to plant, to make pots, and to prepare flour. Although agriculture on the Schingú had already reached respectable improvement, nevertheless there were small indications that showed what its origin had been, at least here. People planted the useful plants found in the vicinity, each tribe acquired its own experience on its own soil, and they were disseminated by the women who, in war or peace, came to other tribes. The fact that the Bakairí-Karaiben were once furthered in this way in

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aldea on the Rio Kulisehu to settle with his arts on the Paranatinga.

When I was with the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí in May and June of 1901, 14 years had elapsed since their first contact with articles of European culture. After Karl von den Steinen's expedition, other explorers had also passed through their land. They had become familiar with iron axes, knives, scissors, matches, and other objects of modern culture, and by bartering their native products they had become amply provided with such objects, but their natures and their way of life had barely changed. They had become acquainted with the firearms of the Europeans and of their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, but they still regarded them with a certain misgiving and did not use them either. Fishing, which had been of the greatest importance in the economy of these Indians, was still carried out on a broad scale and in the ancestral way, fishhooks not being used. In hunting, too, they only used their arrows and long bows built like the ones of old. Agriculture was also carried out in the same manner and with the same digging sticks, with the mere exception that the work of clearing was made much easier by the numerous iron axes that replaced the stone axes of times past. I did not see any more stone axes among these Indians. Undoubtedly they had all been replaced by the far more useful iron axes brought by the explorers who passed through these regions. There were large plantations in the vicinity of the aldeas or at a distance from them, and I myself had the opportunity to observe in the aldea of Maimaieti, situated on the Rio Kulisehu, the way in which a big part of the mountain was cleared for a future plantation. The Indians proudly showed me a spot planted in sweet /mansa, "mild"/ manioc, of which they had received cuttings from the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí. During my stay among the Bakairí of Maimaieti aldea there was never a scarcity of manioc, and I and my companions were always generously provided with manioc cakes /beijũ/. I mention this fact especially, because

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241 it contrasts with Herrmann Meyer's observation, made two
114 years before in the year 1899, on his own experiences among
648 the same Bakairí. (29) To account for the fact that it was

29. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., pp. 126 and 127.

absolutely impossible for him to obtain provisions from the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, he said that these Indians depended for their subsistence almost entirely on their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga and that their agriculture had almost completely disappeared. When Meyer passed by the aldeas of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, conditions for his expedition, which comprised a large number of participants, were very precarious, especially because of lack of provisions, and no doubt the fact that he was unable to get from the Bakairí the provisions he had asked for was for him a severe disappointment. It is possible that the Bakairí at this time could not /24/ supply such large quantities of provisions to accommodate such a large number of strangers. Since it is certain that the Bakairí at the time of my stay among them possessed large plantations, it does not seem possible that their agriculture, two years earlier,
114 should have been at the vanishing point. Nor can I corroborate
342 Herrmann Meyer's comment that the Bakairí of the first two aldeas on the Rio Kulisehu, at the time of his expedition, had changed their good houses for "miserable huts." The two aldeas of the Kulisehu Bakairí which I visited each consisted of four large houses of kin folk, built in the same form with an oval base as the houses had in former times. All of the houses in Maimaieti aldea were quite new and made a good impression
231 inside and outside. About one league from Maimaieti were the then abandoned houses of the old aldea which the Bakairí of Maimaieti had still occupied a short time earlier and where a large bird of prey, a kind of harpy eagle /arpía/, was kept on

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162 the year 1915, no more than nine men with some women and
36 children lived with their cacique in the new aldea. The rest
166 had died or had moved to the other Bakairí aldeas situated on
the Rio Paranatinga.

178 According to Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa's description, the
433 Bakairí of the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga still had in the
622 year 1915 a life with sufficient means of subsistence. Cacique
[361] Antonio, whose authority of former times had undoubtedly de-
[241] creased through José Coroado's defection with his people and
[231] through the independent stand of Cacique Kurutú, was still
chief of the old aldea on the Rio Paranatinga, which still consisted of seven houses and whose inhabitants planted manioc, maize, sugar cane, bananas, and aboborra /gourds/, and raised
[231] many pigs and chickens. In former times they had also devoted
[648] themselves to the raising of cattle and horses, but the rancher Jange Soares had made them give this up. Already at this time, Antonio was urgently pressing his rights in the region bound by the Serra Azul, the Ribeirão Bananal, and the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) and occupied for many years by the Bakairí. (34)

34. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., p. 64.

184 José Coroado's aldea consisted of three well-built houses.
361 He had large plantations of manioc and maize and raised some
241 pigs and chickens. (35) The inhabitants of Cacique Kurutú's
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35. Ibid., p. 65.

aldea, which consisted of three large houses, also had good plantations and lived comfortably.

178 /28/ At that time, also, the customs and ideas of the
[535] Rio Paranatinga Bakairí were largely Indian. When dancing,
[291] the men were nude except for a small coarse apron, rectangular

4:Schmidt--38 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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114 enemy Indian. Just as an untiring search for the "martyrs" in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River finally broke the health of Officer Paulo Castro 25 years before, so too Colonel Fawcett perished in the same regions in his fantastic race for the "mysterious city."

177 178 Although in the year 1927 nearly all the Bakairí dressed in European-type garments and lived in Brazilian-style ranchos, and although they had also adopted many other articles of European culture, there survived among them various articles of their native culture with which I shall deal in the section that follows.

361 Already at the time of my stay among the Bakairí at Simões Lopes there was frequent talk of an imminent move of the post. [312] [241] The Indians were not satisfied with their present location because in times of drought there was no water available except at a great distance, and because there was no ground suitable to make plantations in the immediate vicinity of the post. As for the selection of a place for the new post, the opinions of the Indians differed a great deal, and it was interesting to note that the Xinguanos especially wanted the location to be closer to the capital, Cuiabá, while the Paranatinganos, on the contrary, wanted a place which would be beyond the Rio Paranatinga.

[114] /33/ We learned a few details concerning the later conditions of the Bakairí who lived in the new Simões Lopes Post from Vincent M. Petrullo, who in the year 1931 undertook a journey carried out in part with pack oxen, by water, and in part by air to the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, passing this Indian post along the way. (38) According to

[113] 38. Vincent M. Petrullo, "Primitive Peoples of Matto Grosso, Brazil," The Museum Journal, Vol. XXIII, Number 2, Philadelphia, pp. 127-130.

361 /33 cont./ According To
648 Petrullo the new post is situated on top of a mountain some distance from the edge of the Rio Paranatinga. The post itself consisted of some excellent administrative buildings, and at some distance from these stood the Bakairí aldea, so that the Indians
[871] kept a certain independence. The post had a school which tried to teach the Bakairí youth to read and write in the Portuguese language and the rudiments of arithmetic. The administration
[231] kept a herd of cattle, and each of the Bakairí wished to have some oxen and cows.

114 Without wishing to malign Petrullo's precious information,
648 I must note below some points on which I cannot quite agree
177 with his opinions, because they contradict my experiences
• 241 among these Indians. I believe that a false impression of the previous living conditions of the Bakairí in the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River led to Petrullo's interpretations when he says that the post administration had not experimented in order to change the Bakairí, who in former times had led a seminomadic life, into a sedentary group of agriculturalists. The Bakairí of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River were, like all the other Indian tribes of the Rio Kulisehu, with the possible exception of the Trumaí, a typical agricultural people. The tasks related to agriculture made up the chief part of their activities, and they had extensive plantations in the vicinity of their houses. They led a totally sedentary existence in their aldeas, even moving these closer to their plantations when the latter, owing to the successive exploitation of the land on the closest hill, were little by little moved too distant
[231] from their houses. Livestock they did not have, so that there has been a change in their way of life at the post, with the transformation of a previously agricultural people into a people who raise cattle, no doubt to get a bigger income.

226 Also, I cannot believe that the unusual abundance of fish
114 in the Rio Paranatinga, extolled in former times by the Bakairí, should have dwindled so thoroughly as to warrant Petrullo's observation, "There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga,

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352 The Bakairí slept in hammocks, amaka, woven of palm fiber.
[415 Their furnishings can be summed up as benches of a solid
[285 piece of wood, clay pots, mats and baskets. The diet rests
262 upon manioc, piquí, sweet potatoes, maize, and fish. How-
224] ever, the hunting of monkeys, wild pig, tapir, and other ani-
mals was not scorned. Most of the food reserves, however,
● [241] were of vegetable origin, and the most important harvests
were made up of manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, and piquí.
Yams /cará/, cotton, urucú, and tobacco were also planted.

342 The occupants of a communal house worked together on
476 the building of a new house, acquiring thereby the right to
622 reside in it. This construction work, however, was led by the
individual who had the most prestige in the group, usually the
old head of the house, who thus set himself up as the head of
241 the new house. The tasks of clearing fields and planting
476 generally depended on the participation of all the aldea. When
529 beginning a new clearing, the Bakairí would give a feast,
kométe, with the distribution of food to the Indians who worked
501 on the field. The Bakairí made canoes from the bark of the
[824 jatobá tree, in the Xinguano way. This construction, as well
[782 as fishing, hunting, and agricultural activities, were accom-
panied by propitiatory rituals.

437 Their products were bartered among neighboring groups
574 in the course of visits called tuliki which depended on the
presence of the chiefs of both aldeas. After the exchange of
the oojects desired, the visitors were honored with a feast
called tulake.

621 /262/ The Bakairí were not a warlike people, and their
181 political organization does not seem very elaborate. Each
622 aldea had a chief, pima, assisted by a subchief, itáida. The
624 Bakairí do not remember the existence of a chief for the whole
[643] tribe, and there is no evidence that such a figure ever existed.
The selection of the itáida was made by means of agreement
of the aldea, but it generally fell on the son of the pima him-
self. The pima's functions were chiefly ceremonial, economic,
and juridical.

/263 cont./

about three centimeters square made of tree bark. After the seclusion boys and girls were eligible for /264/ marriage. Marriage, todohokúinle, was joined by the parents of the young people by means of an exchange of gifts, and it does not seem to have merited any special ceremony.

The Bakairí do not seem to have believed in the possibility of a natural death. After death, which was always caused by the sorcery of some enemy, the corpse was painted and attired in the finery used in life. The corpse was rolled up in the hammock used by the deceased, and buried with the head pointing west and the feet east. There followed a mourning period, during which the closer relatives remained uanki and from which they emerged through the tadaunúto feast.

The world of the Bakairí was surrounded by supernatural beings, good and evil, such as the iamũra, topiehe, karoui, kadopa, and kilaimo. (5) Plants and animals were nothing but

5. Capistrano de Abeu, "Os Bacaerys." Revista Brasileira, Year I, Vol. 4, pp. 44, 45, 47, 48, 234, 240, 241. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

drapery used by the iamura and kadopa. Hunting, fishing, and agricultural activities thus had to be accompanied by propitiatory activities intended to appease the anger of the iamũra deprived of their animals and plants. On the other hand, karoui and kilaimo wandered through the forest menacing the Bakairí. Against such beings the Indians required the protection of their sorcerer-doctors as well as periods of seclusion in the most dangerous moments.

The Bakairí believed that men had two souls: one called kati or kutuiu, heavier and thicker, corresponding to a camisa worn by the second soul, kagatopuri, a more fluid element that

/269 cont./

539 fat in order to stay warm. The Indans wanted the sun to come out, and so they donned their apparel, painted their bodies, and began to sk Orimoto, the great spirit. Orimoto was not an Indian but a man who lived in a stone house with some armals which he had created. The Indians went on askig until finally the light broke out; but the Indians hadalready grown old and the children had already grownup.

796 The data at our disposal do not permit us to place in Bakairí cosmology beings such as Tchini-uma, Keri-kamé, or Orimoto and Nakoeri. Nevertheless, e prefer to regard Nakoeri as the supreme being of the Bakirí, leaving to Tchini-numa, Keri-kamé (the sun and te moon), and Orimoto the role of culture heroes, until new wo clarifies their respective functions.

182 13 433 Compelled to deal with a hostile nvironment, such as the savannas and forests of the headwats of the Xingu, and lacking an adequate technology, the Baairí, like the other Xinguano Indians, depended to a large ment on uncertain factors such as the amount of rainfall a the resulting annual increase of waters, which led to a scarcy or an abundance of food. Lacking an adequate technoloy, they did not store 789 their produce but lived on a subsistenceconomy. Their hunt- [224] ing and fishing activities were followedy magic rituals with [336] which they attempted to control t the posibility of sudden future [241] calamities or even of illnesses. Thus ag ricultural activities [396] and the building of houses or canoes had to be followed by [782] propitiations. In order to utilize the vegetal or animal raw [262] materials, it was necessary to know how to control uncertain elements: How explain, for example, why one canoe splits and another does not, when both were made by the same craftsman? How explain how the same /270/ foods sometimes appeared harmless and sometimes made people ill? The system of beliefs of the Bakairí seems to us an interpretation that

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352 415 wooden benches, and dishes and cups made from gourds.

404 226 501 396 [224] As the Bacairí were extensive travelers and depended upon fish for a considerable part of their food supply, canoes were an important part of their equipment. The Bacairí canoe (*pépi*) was made from the bark of the jatobá tree. The tough, heavy bark was first stripped from one-half of the tree. Small fires were then lighted on the inside of the bark trough to make it curl. Braces were placed at intervals along the entire length, the bow was tapered, and the stern was squared off by forcing the bark upward at one end.

501 [171] 415 [224] 352 Bacairí canoes varied in size, the larger ones being able to carry as many as 8 men. Canoes of jatobá bark are used by the Bacairí today and are the predominant type among the Indians of the Upper Xingú. The Bacairí also made large tubs out of jatobá bark which were used as settling vessels for manioc juice. The juice of the manioc contains a fine powder or starch which settles on the bottom of the vessel, to be gathered after the liquid is poured off.

●241 For gardening, the Bacairí formerly used a digging stick made of hardwood.

411 824 For hunting, they used a bow (*tiku*), round or slightly oval in cross section and from 2 to 2½ meters in length, made from a yellow or reddish wood which was first matured by burying it in mud. The bowstring was made from the fibers of imbauba bark. Arrows (*pirú*) were made from cane with hardwood or bone points. Hunting [237] arrows had two feathers, but arrows used for shooting fish had serrated wooden points and no feathers. The cutting tools of the Bacairí consisted 42 of knives made from bamboo, stone, bones, and 429 shell. Transportation was by canoe, or if over 482 land, goods were carried in a wicker basket supported on the back by a tump line.

ORNAMENTS

891 [171] While living on the banks of the Kuliseu River, the Bacairí, in common with the other Upper Xingú River tribes, did not use clothing. Men sometimes wore a narrow cotton band (*enagia*) around the waist, with a few tassels hanging in front. Women, after puberty, wore the uluri.

302 Men wore their hair cut short. Women wore their hair long at the back but cut straight across over the forehead. Hair was cut with a knife made [4] [3] by setting sharp fish teeth into a wooden stick,

placed in a hole in the septum of the nose, so that the feathers swung one on each side of the head. Although the *pdiko*, or scratcher, was not strictly an ornament, it is mentioned here because it had ritual meaning. The *pdiko* was made by setting fish teeth into a gourd holder and was used for scarifying the skin of the arms, legs, chest, and back so as to cause bleeding. The wounds were first washed with water and later smeared with the juice of the *mukúna* vine. The *pdiko* was used by boys and girls during puberty seclusion and by adults who had sores on their bodies. It was believed that the use of the *pdiko* made people strong and healthy. As far as could be ascertained the Bacairi did not mutilate the teeth, genitals, or other parts of the body. There was no sign of tattooing, but pubic hair was carefully pulled out by both men and women. Formerly the Bacairi kept large birds, believed to belong to the eagle family, in their villages for their feathers. The Brazilians call the bird "harpía" and claim that it is still kept by the Indians in the Xingú Basin. The "harpía" was captured by shooting it with a blunted arrow, and it was kept in a special hut and fed. Villages often had several of these birds in captivity, the feathers being used particularly for feathering arrows. Parrots and macaws were also kept, their feathers being used only for ceremonial decorations.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Vegetable foods formed the basis of Bacairi diet, with fish and meat taking second and third places. The principal animals hunted were monkeys, deer, wild pigs, tapir, and the jaguar. The jaguar, however, was not eaten, but was hunted for its skin, teeth, and claws. The principal weapon used was the bow and arrow. Hunters would stalk game alone or in groups with the aid of dogs driving game into water or into steep rocky enclosures. There is no mention of the spear being used, but deadfalls and pitfalls were used. Many varieties of large fish were shot with the bow and arrow, either from canoes or from the river bank. Lizards, turtles, and a wide variety of wild fruits, roots, tender shoots, and honey were collected at certain seasons of the year.

The major part of the food supply, however, was obtained through agriculture. The Bacairi cultivated bitter manioc, *óya*; sweet manioc, *tsiuʃ*;

241 beans, *ipié;* peanuts, *oremí;* sweetpotatoes, *mahódo;* "cará," *nári;* maize, *dnji;* potatoes, *múla;* cotton, *kodokíra;* urucú, *dunto;* tobacco, *tauví;* piqui fruit, *ípa.* Manioc, maize, and sweetpotatoes
248 were the principal food crops. Cotton was grown for making hammocks and the various belts and
276 strings used. Tobacco leaves, after being dried, were smoked by being rolled into cigars (*tapáki*).
[755] Tobacco seems to have had a ritual use, as the shamans smoked heavily before performing a rite.
252 Bitter manioc was shredded on a shredding board into which fish teeth or fine pieces of shell had been embedded. The pulp was squeezed in a piece of cotton cloth in order to remove the poisonous acids. The meal was then used for baking cakes. The fine powder or flour which settled at the bottom of the settling tub was also used for baking cakes after it was thoroughly dried. Maize was eaten boiled or roasted. Sweetpotatoes were
272 roasted over coals. Maize meal was prepared and mixed with wild honey and water to make a non-alcoholic beverage. The Bacairí claim not to have used any form of alcoholic beverage.

241 Cultivated plots were located outside the village, each large household usually having a continuous area. Maize and many other crops were planted in September and October when the rains began. Sweet manioc and sweetpotatoes could be planted the year around, especially on river banks after the rivers went down following the rainy season. April was the harvest month and also the beginning of the ceremonial season.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

592 The occupants of the large communal houses usually worked together in the fields, went hunting or fishing together, and generally cooperated in economic activities. Families could work individually if they wished or did not need the help
241 of others. It was the task of the men to burn and
482 prepare the fields for planting. As the men loosened the soil with the digging stick women planted the seeds, slips, or pieces of stalk, as the case might be. Women and children thereafter took care of the weeding.

462 Division of labor by sex existed to a certain
[275] extent. Women wove mats (*enepíu*) out of various
[276] fibers, and hammocks out of cotton yarn which was also spun by women. Men wove baskets.
[323] Both men and women made clay pots. Bacairí

Bacairí

323 pots are quite distinct from the pottery of the Indians living on the Upper Paraguay River. Bacairí pots are flat-bottomed and have straight vertical walls with everted rims. The pots in common use were, and still are, black in color, unglazed, and undecorated. Some of the pots [532] been were made in the forms of frogs, turtles, fish, and birds. The Bacairí claim that they [531] formerly had decorated pottery called *amúga*, painted with black, gray, red, and brown designs.

476 The Bacairí also had economic activities in which the whole village, or a number of communal houses, participated. The *kometí*, or collective land clearing, was one of these. A man would invite a large number of relatives and friends to assist him in clearing a new piece of forest land. The women would participate by preparing large amounts of food and honey beverage for the workers. The new field would remain the property of the man who initiated the *kometí*, obligating him to work in return if called upon, but sometimes the group of men who cleared the field would divide it among them.

241 476 [262] 423 476

342 476 House building was always an enterprise in which the whole village took part. The group that was interested in raising the house cut the beams and poles necessary for the framework and prepared large quantities of food. While a certain number of men began to put up the framework, others went to gather grass for thatching. When they returned with the thatching they put [538] on their ceremonial decorations and danced the *makalawári* dance. House building was thus not only an economic act but also a ceremonial occasion.

296 476 Hammock weaving was, at times, a collective enterprise. A woman with a larger than usual cotton crop distributed cotton among her friends and when the work was completed she organized a feast and dance.

and when the work was completed she organized

437 629 574 [623] Ceremonial trading expeditions (*talíri*) were organized by the chief of the village. During the rainy seasons, when the rivers were high and canoe travel easy, the men of a village would collect whatever excess goods they had, such as bows, baskets, ornaments, hammocks, and even food, and would go to a neighboring village where the chief would receive them before the ceremonial house. The two chiefs would then supervise the exchange of commodities. After the trading was

BACAIRI SP7
MATO GROSSO 91

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361 a wire fence enclosure. The effort of the Inspectoria has been to give
648 aborigines the isolation that they want and not to interfere in anything that they may do. The tribal organization is kept as of old, and the Bakairi lead their own life in their own way. They are not forced to stay at the post, or in any way bound to do as the agent says. The agent is merely a teacher. He talks to them and advises them on any problem that may be facing them, but it is understood that they are free men and that they can do as they please.

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177 The post maintains a school, the effort being made to teach every
648 child to read and write Portuguese and to learn the rudiments of arithmetic. In addition to this, an attempt is made to teach them vocations,
M such as weaving on the loom, tailoring, shoemaking, barbering, and so
658 forth. Generally, if a boy shows unusual talent he is taken to Cuyabá and even to Rio de Janeiro to be given further instruction. This education is not compulsory, however, though most of the Bakairi take advantage of the opportunity. It is the project of the Inspectoria to form good self-sustaining citizens of such groups of the native population as come under its tutelage.

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177 The post has a herd of cattle and the Indians are being taught the
[233] principles of cattle raising. It is the desire of every Bakairi to own cattle. No attempt is made to turn the Bakairi into a sedentary agricultural people, it being thought unwise to attempt to transform the manner of life of the Bakairi by tying them down to the soil, when they have been used to a semi-nomadic existence. On the other hand, they are encouraged to practice some agriculture, raising manioc, sweet potatoes, some maize and cotton. Each man clears his own land yearly and plants his foods.

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● [241]

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164 In spite of the liberal attitude and practice of the Inspectoria the
[165] Bakairi have been dying fast. Fevers seem to decimate them rapidly, though all efforts are made to keep medical supplies on hand at to supply medical attention. Their life is not as strenuous as formerly, because of the improved methods, and this may account for the lowered resistance. On the other hand, there is no doubt but that at the headwaters of the Paranatinga it is less healthy than in the region of their former homes. Even the Indians from the lower Kuluseu who [illegible] the [illegible] our expedition on its return to the post suffered greatly from [illegible]
500 upon reaching it, though it was the dry season and there were few insects.